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ART. IV.—*Summary Review of the Travels of Hiouen Thsang¹, from the Translation of the Si-yu-ki by M. JULIEN, and the Mémoire Analytique of M. VIVIEN DE ST. MARTIN. By Professor H. H. WILSON, Director of the Society.*

[Read 8th and 22nd January, and 5th February, 1859.]

IN an appendix to the publication of the translation of the Travels of *Fa Hian*, the *Foe Koue Ki*, was added an itinerary professing to be that of another Chinese traveller, *Hiouen Thsang*, who visited India in the first half of the seventh century. As it was an extract from a geographical Encyclopædia of comparatively recent compilation, some doubt was suggested as to the degree of confidence to which it was entitled, although enough of interest was obviously attached to the account, and it was most desirable that we should have access to the original through the medium of a translation into some familiar idiom. The eyes of European scholars were naturally directed to the most eminent of sinologues, M. Stanislas Julien, who, in compliance with their wishes, undertook and has now completed the task. Some notice of the result of his labours will be, no doubt, acceptable to the Royal Asiatic Society, although the limited space that is compatible with the extent of the Journal compels me to a more summary review than a careful and minute analysis would require.

It appears, however, that no account of his travels written by himself was ever prepared by *Hiouen Thsang*. M. Julien has translated two works relating to these travels, but neither is the performance of *Hiouen Thsang* himself. The first is a biographical notice of him, in which his travels form a principal feature: this was composed by two of his scholars, *Hoei-li* and *Tsang-yan*, and published

¹ I have retained, in regard to the name of the traveller, the spelling of M. Julien, *Hiouen Thsang*, although, in following the French pronunciation, it is necessary to render *ou* by *u* or *oo*; preferring the former, the first name should be written therefore Anglice, *Hiuen*, or perhaps even *Huen* if it be a monosyllable, as English sinologues write *Foe-koue-ki*, "*Foe-kwe-ki*." I have thought it right, however, to leave the name as it is written in French, as likely to be more generally known under that form; in all other instances I have represented *ou* by *u*, as in the frequently recurring term *Poulo*, "*Pulo*," from the Sanskrit *Pura*, "a city." I have also made a few other necessary adaptations, as *ch* for *tch*, and *sh* for *ch*, as in *Kua-cheu* for *Koua-tcheou*, and *Sha-cheu* for *Cha-tcheou*, and some others of obvious necessity, with reference to French and English pronunciation.

by M. Julien, in 1853, under the title of "*Histoire de la Vie de Hiouen-Thsang, et de ses Voyages dans l'Inde depuis l'an 629 jusqu'en 645.*" The second, which is the work just finished, is entitled the "*Si-yu-ki* ; or, *Mémoires sur les Contrées Occidentales,*" which is described by the translator as "the compilation by an eminent writer of the name of Pien-ki, with the assistance of numerous documents translated from the Sanskrit by the illustrious traveller, and derived for the most part from statistical and historical works composed in those days in India, and no longer extant." So that, in the catalogue of the library of the Emperor Khien-long, it is said to be a translation from the Sanskrit—a designation not altogether correct, although it may convey the notion entertained by Chinese scholars of the sources whence the materials of the *Si-yu-ki* were drawn : at any rate, the work abounds with Sanskrit terms, the names of places and persons, and the expression of Buddhist doctrines sometimes disguised in Chinese characters, sometimes translated. The deciphering and interpretation of these words has added, in no slight degree, to the difficulty of the translator, and has imposed upon M. Julien the necessity of making himself sufficiently acquainted with Sanskrit to be able to verify the original terms. This he has accomplished with singular success, and has furnished, as a supplement to his translation, three several indices—one of Sanskrit and Chinese words, one of Chinese and Sanskrit words, and one of Sanskrit words expressed phonetically in Chinese—all of which, besides affording a proof of his conscientious industry, cannot fail to be of most essential service to any scholars who may hereafter investigate the past history and faith of India from Chinese sources.

The account given of the *Si-yu-ki* in the catalogue of Khien-long is far from affording a precise notion of the work ; but this is of no great importance, as we have itself to refer to. It is evidently made up of two parts : first, a description of the countries visited, or respecting which information was gathered by the traveller ; secondly, a *résumé* of his itinerary : the first is probably in his own words ; the second must be taken from his journals ; but it is in the language of the editor, of Pien-ki, it is to be supposed, by whom the compilation was effected. Thus we find the work begins with an account of a country named O-ki-ni, the Chinese representative of the Sanskrit Agni. Thus : "The kingdom of O-ki-ni has about 600 li from east to west, and 400 from north to south. On all four sides it is enclosed by mountains ; the roads are dangerous, and easy of defence ; a multitude of streams, which unite, surround it like a girdle ; their water is employed in irrigation ; the soil is favourable to red millet, late

wheat, fragrant jujubes, grapes, pears, and plums," and so on to the end of the description ; when the itinerary begins in these terms :—

"Departing from this country, he made about 200 li to the south-west, cleared a small mountain, and crossed two large rivers ; to the west he found a narrow valley. After having made (*après avoir fait*) about 700 li, he arrived at the kingdom of Kiu-chi." After which the language of description is resumed ; then we again have the itinerary in the same style. "After quitting this country he made about 600 li west, crossed a small sandy desert, and arrived at the kingdom of Pa-lu-kia." Then again follows description ; the description, mixed up with legends and anecdotes, is no doubt the writing of Hiouen Thsang ; but the itinerary in which he is spoken of only as "*He*," is of course the work of the redacteur Pien-ki, and is possibly less detailed, and so far less serviceable than the original. Whatever may be its defects, however, they are remedied by a very carefully elaborated analysis of Hiouen Thsang's travels, by M. Vivien de St. Martin, according to both the biographical memoir and the Si-yu-ki, in which he has followed the route of the traveller, and traced his course with all the precision that was practicable ; collecting, in illustration, a variety of interesting notices from Chinese and Arabian geographers.¹ According to these authorities, then, Hiouen Thsang commenced his travels A.D. 629 from Liang-chou, a commercial city in the north-west of China, from which he proceeded to Kua-chou, beyond the western extremity of the Great Wall ; both this place and Liang-chou are still extant, and bear the same appellations. After crossing the river Hu-lu (the Bulunghir of the Mongols), he came to the desert known to the Chinese as Sha-ho (the Mongol Gobi), or the "River of Sand." Hiouen Thsang calls it Mo-kia-yeu, which is evidently the Chinese representation of the name it still bears among some of the Mongols—Ma-kha-i. Along the route were Chinese watch-towers at the distance of 100 li from each other, the last placed on the Chinese frontier, at 500 li from the river. M. de St. Martin has prefaced his

¹ Something of this had been effected by the translators of the Foe-Kue-Ki, and by M. Reinaud, with the assistance, as he acknowledges, of M. Julien, in his *Mémoire Géographique Historique et Scientifique de l'Inde* ; but the former verifications are not always correct, and the latter are of limited extent. A more copious verification of Hiouen Thsang's route, as laid down in the appendix to Fa-hian's, was published by Captain Cunningham in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. xvii., containing much accurate and valuable illustration, to which M. St. Martin makes frequent reference. M. St. Martin has, of course, for the basis of his identifications, the results of M. Julien's scholarship in both Chinese and Sanskrit, and the complete and systematic concurrence he has been able to establish between the nomenclature of both languages.

analysis by a determination of the value of the li in the days of the traveller, and fixes it at 320 metres, which are equal to 3,281 feet. An English mile, therefore, contains 4 li and 8-10ths ; or we may say roughly, that 5 li make a mile. The distances specified by Hiouen Thsang could not have been the result of actual measurement, and must be taken at best as approximations from his own estimates and collateral information.

On leaving China the route enters the kingdom of I-gu, with a capital of the same name, now known as Hami, the capital of the Eigur Turks, who, under the Chinese designation of Hsiei-hu, occupied those countries from the second century before our era, according to the Chinese annals.

The next country is that of the king of the Kao-chang, another Eigur tribe, who, a few years subsequently, conquered the I-gu country, and gave their name to the whole of the Eigur tribes. The capital was Pe-li at the time of the journey (or the Chinese Pi-jan), about 75 leagues from Hami. Thence Hiouen Thsang goes west to Vu-pu-an, and thence to To-tsin, which M. de St. Martin considers to be the same as the still existing city Toksún, about 190 li south, or 38 miles, south-west from Turfan.

From this place Hiouen Thsang comes to the kingdom of Akini or Okini, which M. de St. Martin says is indisputably, from the bearing and distance, the modern Kara-shahr. Akini, M. Julien considers, may be identical with Agni. M. de St. Martin suggests its being possibly a modification of the ancient Chinese name Yenki. We should scarcely expect to meet with Agni so far to the north-east unless the term were used by Hiouen Thsang with some little inaccuracy, to denote the bearing of his route ; Agni designating the south-east, his course lying to the south-west. It is rather remarkable, however, that the traveller states that the written characters are borrowed from India with very slight modifications ; but this may be accounted for by the presence of some ten Buddhist convents, the members of which, 2000 in number, learn their doctrines and institutions from books brought from India. The country is of no great extent, or about 600 li (120 miles) from east to west, and 400 li (80 miles) from north to south. It is a table land shut in by mountains.

Two hundred li from hence Hiouen Thsang passed two great rivers ; and at 700 li further—altogether 180 miles,—he came to the kingdom of Ki-u-chi or Ku-ché. The country on the west of Kara Shahr is still called Ku-che. According to the traveller's account of it, it is rich in mines of gold, copper, iron, and lead : we have here

about 100 convents, with 5000 members, whose writings, doctrines, and books are all from India. Statues of Buddha, some of them of colossal size, and impressions of his feet on blocks of jade are also met with.

From hence 600 li (120 miles) bring him to Po-lu-kia. The kingdom, according to M. de St. Martin, is represented by the present province of Ak-su; but he thinks the name of Po-lu-kia may be referred to a tribe of Turks who, before the Thang dynasty, ruled in the north-western extremity of China, named Pu-lo-ki. North from hence about twenty leagues occurred lofty mountains covered with snow—the Musur-aola of the Mongols, and Ling-shan of the Chinese—both meaning “Mountains of Ice:” a difficult journey of about eighty miles lay across these mountains, on which, it is stated, that no traveller should wear red garments, nor carry gourds—probably as water-bottles,—nor talk loud, under the penalty of bringing on a violent hurricane, by which he will probably be overwhelmed. At the end of this distance a large lake 1000 li (200 miles) in circuit presents itself. The description of this, which Hiouen Thsang calls Thsing-chi, leaves no doubt of its identity with the Lake Temurtu or Issikul.

The journey westward from the lake of Issikul presents, as noticed by M. de St. Martin, some important variations from the account given of it in the “*Mémoires de la Vie*,” which he ascribes to the employment of additional materials from Hiouen Thsang’s notes by his biographer. Both descriptions, however, are unsatisfactory as to the intermediate stages between the lake and the city of Ta-lu-so, and the total distance of about 1000 li, which, according to M. de St. Martin, leaves *une lacune considérable*. The two extreme points are, however, unquestionable; and the city of Ta-lu-so is recognisable in the important and ancient city of Talas or Taras, in the middle of the valley of the Jaxartes. Some of the difficulty of a more exact adjustment of the stages may arise from the repetition and confounding of names which are given to different places upon the authority of Chinese geographers. From Taras forwards, valuable elucidation is derivable from Arabic and Persian sources.

Taras, which Rashid-ud-din mentions is called Talas by the Turks, is the modern city of Turkestan. From thence Hiouen Thsang turned from west to south, following the valley of the Sir-darya, or Jaxartes. The stages given are Peshui, 200 li (40 miles), Kong-yu, the same, Nuchi-kien, 50 li (10), Che-chi, 40 miles towards the west, Fei-han, 1000 li or 200 miles: all these are identifiable. Po-shui means “White Water,”—the translation of Safid-ab—a city named by Ibn

Hakal and Shahab-ud-din; it is placed at two or three day's journey from Taras, either of which will agree well enough with the 40 miles of the Chinese pilgrim.

Kong-yu does not find a representative, unless it be one of the cities termed Yenghi, "New Town," of which there is one much in the position required.

Nu-chi-kien corresponds with a Nuj-keth or Nuj-kand, of Turkish geography, but its exact position is not determined. This is not the case with Che-chi, the Turk and Bukharian Shash, Chach, or Cháj -- the Tashkand of modern maps. The identity of Fei-han with Farghana, has been some time recognised, being intimated by Klaproth and Remusat, and the name also occurring as Pha-han-na, Pholona, Pho-han. The name, as given by Hiouen Thsang, designates the country; he does not notice the capital, and in fact he intimates that there was none, as for many years past every petty chief in the country had made himself independent. In the 10th century, Aksikhet, on the right bank of the Si-hun, was the capital, about seventy-two leagues south-east from Tashkand. The 1000 li of the itinerary are equal to seventy-four leagues,—a sufficiently near approximation.

Hiouen Thsang's next country is called by him Su-tu-li-se-na, the direction and proximate distance of which apply to a tract known to the early Mohammedans as Osrushna and Satrushna, but now designated Uratipa, or Uratupa, Uratepe, or Urtappa. Baber, in his memoirs, expressly states that the former name of the country was Usrushna, or, in the translation, Usrushta. From hence, at 500 li south, the pilgrim comes to Sa-mo-kien, the identity of which with Samarkand does not admit of question, the bearing and distance agreeing sufficiently well with its position. Hiouen Thsang describes the city as a place of valuable trade, and the country as rich and productive, abounding in magnificent trees, fruits, and flowers, and producing an excellent breed of horses.

Without pretending to have visited the countries themselves, Hiouen Thsang makes mention of various places in the neighbourhood of Samarkand; some of these are not easily identifiable, but in Pu-ho or Pu-kho, M. de St. Martin recognises Bokhara, in Ho-li-si-me-kin Khwarizm, and in the river Po-tsu the Vankshu of Badakhshan, or the Oxus.

Setting out from Samarkand, the traveller proceeds to the south-west, above 300 li or 60 miles to Kie-shang-na or Kesa, the birth-place of Timur. From hence the route lay through difficult mountain passes to a gorge called "the Iron Gates," the Darband of the Mohammedans; passing which the traveller reached the kingdom of Tu-ho-lo,

Tokharistan, occupied at this period, by the Ye-tha or Yue-chi, a tribe of Tibetan origin that invaded Transoxiana, and overturned the Græco-Bactrian kingdom about B.C. 126., and, under their celebrated sovereign Kanishka, had spread into the Punjab shortly before our era. When visited by Hiouen Tshang, they had been driven southwards by the Turks, and had become tributaries of the Grand Khan divided into twenty-seven petty and feeble principalities.

After crossing the Oxus to Tami or Termez, the traveller came to the territory of Hu-o, which M. de St. Martin considers identical with Ghaur; but from hence he was called back to Po-ho-lo or Balkh. Between these two points he enumerates several states, some of which are easily verifiable, as Po-kia-lang, or Baghelan, He-lu-si-mur-kien, Semenghan, and Ho-lin or Khulm. Of Balkh, he says that "it is strongly fortified, but of limited extent and scanty population." In all these he reports the existence of Buddhist monasteries. Balkh contains 100, and 3000 occupants. At one of them, south-east of the town, were sundry precious relics—as the wash-hand basin of Buddha, one of his teeth, and his broom, the latter set with precious stones. North of the monastery was a sthūpa 200 feet high. There were others in that part of the country.

During his residence at Balkh, Hiouen Tshang received invitations from several of the neighbouring princes, and visited them in consequence, giving short descriptions of their principalities. The most remote was Ta-la-kien, or Tulekan, on the confines of Po-la-se or Persia. The particulars of these journeys are apparently undetailed, as the itinerary is resumed from Balkh; from whence, at a distance of 900 li (180 miles) to the south, he comes to Fan-yen-na, an extensive city in a valley surrounded by mountains, and remarkable for colossal statues of Buddha cut in the rock, and still extant in fact at Bamian. In the neighbourhood of the city were various religious establishments, with relics and marvels which it is not material to particularise. We may notice one—the garment of a saint named Sanaka-Vasa, or the "Hemp-clad," from the *san*, of which his garment was manufactured. The saint wore it through 500 successive existences; and, on the occasion of his last birth, he was born with it. It grew as he grew; and, when he obtained Nirvāna, he expressed a pious wish that it might endure as long as the law of Buddha. Hiouen Tshang remarks it was somewhat the worse for wear.

Going eastwards, through passes in the snowy mountains, the route comes to the kingdom of Kia-pi-shi, or Kapisa,—a name with which Pliny and Ptolemy have made us familiar as "*Kapissum urbem quam Kapiseno habuit*," or, as sometimes read, Caphusa or Caphisa.

It is somewhat singular that with this positive indication of a city and state among the Paropamisadan mountains in the beginning of the Christian era, and its actual recognition by the Chinese traveller in the 7th century, the name should not occur in any Hindu authority. The word *Kapisa* is Sanskrit, meaning "brown," or "tawny," but we do not find it applied to any known locality. The position of *Kia-pi-shi*, although not determinable with precision, is evidently to the north-east of *Kabul*, and *M. de St. Martin* has good reason for placing it west of *Lamghan*, and, consequently, as corresponding with the districts of *Nijrao* and *Panjshir*,—a tract which, as he observes, although close to *Kabul*, is yet very imperfectly known. If *Hiouen Thsang* at all approaches to accuracy in giving a circuit of 4000 li (800 miles) to the kingdom of *Kia-pi-shi*, the localities indicated could scarcely include such an extent of territory.

The Prince of *Kapisa* is described as a patron of Buddhism, and the principal city contained 100 monasteries, with numerous *sthūpas*. The heretics—that is to say, the Hindus—are also numerous; and there are different orders of mendicants—some who go naked, some who smear themselves with ashes, and some who wear chaplets of skulls. Their appellations—*Nirgranthas*, the "Free from bonds," *Pāsupatas* or *Khākis* (perhaps it should be *Paśupatas*), and *Kapīladhāris* are all genuine Sanskrit appellations, and show that these ascetics were all followers of *Siva*. At the time of *Kanishka*, *Kia-ni-se-kia*, who was raja of *Kien-tho-lo*, *Gandhāra*, *Kapisa* was subject to him. A variety of marvels are narrated by the credulous traveller of the convents and *sthūpas* in the neighbourhood, to which no interest attaches, except that it may be worth while to notice that he speaks of chambers excavated in the mountains, and often quotes his narrations from ancient descriptions of the country.

Six hundred li (120 miles) to the east, *Hiouen Thsang* came to the principality of *Lan-po*, the *Lampaka* or *Lampaga* of Sanskrit, the country of the *Lampagæ* of *Ptolemy*, corrupted by the *Mohammadans* into *Laghman*; the distance, however, implies that the traveller must have made a circuitous detour.

The itinerary is here interrupted by a general description of *Tien-chu*, or *India*, which comprises some interesting notices. It will, however, be more conveniently adverted to when we have finished the journey, and are enabled to add such further historical particulars as the travels may offer.

Lan-po is bounded on the north by the snowy mountains, and on the other three sides by the black mountains, the *Siah-koh*. The climate is mild, and, although hoar frost occurs, it never snows, parti-

culars that can scarcely be quite true of Laghman. Rice and sugarcane are cultivated. The country was in a state of anarchy, but was beginning to acknowledge subjection to Ka-pi-sa. The route then proceeds south-east, through a pass in the mountains and across a river, identified by M. de St. Martin with the Kabul river, the Kophes or Kophene of classical writers, the Kubhá of the Vedas, where a remarkable bend of the mountains allows it to pass from the valley of Laghman to the plain of Jelalabad. The first stage is Nakie-lo-ho, the Nangen-har of Baber, or Nagara hárdá of the Hindus; the Nagara also of Ptolemy, which he also calls Dionysopolis. Properly speaking Nagara, according to Hiouen Thsang, is the name of the province, that of the capital being Udyánapura, which M. de St. Martin supposes the Greeks, with their usual national bias, transformed to Dionysopolis, or city of Dionysus or Bacchus. Professor Lassen thinks that there was such a city indicated by the monogram on the coins of Dionysius, one of the Græco-Bactrian kings, subsequent to Apollodotus, and consequently much later than the invasion of Alexander, though not later than Ptolemy. Captain Cunningham (*Journal Asiatic Society, Calcutta*, 17, 482) quotes Abu Rihan for a city named Dinus, halfway between Kabul and Peshawar, which bears the abbreviated name of the city. There are some difficulties in the way of this identification, however, and more positive indications fix it at Begram, or about two miles west of Jelalabad, where, according to Masson, tradition records that there was a city named Adjuna, a possible corruption of Udyana, or Ujana. There is also a village named Nagarak, and the Udyánapura, the city of gardens, has been possibly perpetuated in the neighbourhood under the designations of Bálabágh and Chahárbágh. Again at thirty li south-east from Nakie-lo-ho was a place of great sanctity, named Hi-lo, where were several sthúpas. The tope of Hidda well known to us by Masson's explorations, is no doubt one of the ancient groupes. From Begram, representing Nakie-lo-lo, to Hidda is exactly thirty li, or six miles.

From Nakie-lo-lo Hiouen Thsang proceeds 500 li (100 miles) south-east, to Pu-lu-sha-pu-lo, the Sanskrit Purusha-pura, the modern Peshawar, the capital of Kien-tho-lo, or Gandhára. The distance from Begram, on our maps, is 103 miles, which is a curiously close approximation. Gandhára extended, according to the traveller, to the Indus. Purushapura had been the capital of Kanishka, but the country was now subject to Kapisa. Notwithstanding the number of convents and sthúpas, to which there was great resort, at so short a distance as Hi-lo the people were mostly of the Brahmanical belief, and there were but few who had faith in the true Law, "il y en a peu qui avaient foi

dans la droite loi." There were about a thousand monasteries, but deserted and in ruins, overrun with wild plants, and offering only a melancholy solitude : the greater number of the sthúpas were also in ruins.

From hence the traveller proceeded north-east, about sixty li (twelve miles) to the city of Pu-se-kia-lo-fa-ti, the Hindu Pushkala-vati, the Peukelaotis of Alexander's historians, a city of which no trace remains, but which was possibly situated, in M. de St. Martin's opinion, where a town called in the maps Nicetta, or Nisatha exists, on the north bank of the Kabul river, a little below the confluence of the river Lundi, or of Swát. It has been identified with Hashtnagar, but there is perhaps little or no difference. Hashtnagar is properly the name of the district, that of the eight cities; correctly speaking there is no such town, but, according to Captain Raverty (*Transactions Bombay Geographical Society*, Vol. X) it is made up of three small adjacent towns, Char, Luddha, and Pranj, close together, and not more than five miles from Nisatha, or fifteen from Peshawar, so that the locality is much the same, and Peukelaotis probably comprised the whole of the vicinity. Extensive ruins are found throughout the neighbourhood. The territory of Gandhára abounding in objects of interest to the Buddhist ascetic, it is not wonderful that Hiouen Thsang spent some time in visiting different places, some of which he names, as Pu-lu-sha, U-tu-kia-han-cha, and Po-lo-tu-lo. The first of these is identifiable with a place called Baroch, the second with Uttakhandá, or the Uay-hind of Albiruni, the Ohind of the maps, a village on the right bank of the Indus, about twelve miles above Attok, one of the most ancient places in the country, according to Major Cunningham. Mr. Court speaks of it as Hund, and observes that the ruins are very remarkable, and mentions inscriptions in characters unknown to the people. Transcripts of two of these were procured by Captain Burnes; they are referred, by J. Prinsep, to the seventh or eighth century, but they are defective and apparently ill copied, so that no satisfactory interpretation can be attempted; but, as the marbles were sent to the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, a further examination might be more successful. It may be admitted, however, that Prinsep's estimate of their date is correct. Po-lo-tu-lo is signalled by Hiouen Thsang as the birth place of the grammarian Po-ni-ni, or Pánini : the place of his nativity is usually called, by native authorities, Salátura, but one or other of the names may be wrongly read, in the first syllable; the identity of the individual is indisputable, by the especial notice of his grammar and its currency. It is observable, also, that Hiouen Thsang repeats the legend of Pánini's being indebted for assistance to Siva or Maheswara,

whence his first rules, those of the alphabet, are called the *Māheswara Sutrāni*, the Sutras or precepts of Maheswara.

Before crossing the Indus the traveller visits the countries lying more northerly on its western bank, that of U-chang-na, or Udyāna, the garden, the country at present occupied by the Yusef-zis, and watered by the Swat river, the Suastos of Arrian, the Subhavastu of Sanskrit, abbreviated to Suvastu, but literally rendered by the Chinese Su-pa-fa-so-tu. Hiouen Thsang here devoted some time to various peregrinations to monasteries and sthūpas, the site of many miraculous appearances of the Tathāgata himself, according to the pilgrim: whether remains of these monuments still exist has yet to be ascertained, as the habits and temper of the people are little favourable to intimate intercourse. They must have been of a very different race in the seventh century from what they are now, for Hiouen Thsang describes them as gentle and pusillanimous, inclined to cunning and dishonesty, fond of study but not pursuing it with energy: he also states that the population was very numerous, which is not the case at present: the capital city he calls Mong-kie-li, Manglavor, or Mangalapur, a town on the left bank of the Swat, and which the natives affirmed had been for a long time the capital; the people must have been of Indian origin, if the traveller's statement be credited that their language differed but little from that spoken in India.

The course next followed led the traveller more to the north, along the upper course of the Indus, over difficult mountain passes and across rivers, over which rude suspension bridges were thrown. It is not easy to attempt to trace his route here, not only because the country is yet unvisited by Europeans, but because it is not always clear that Hiouen Thsang himself travelled over the ground. As far as it is safe to come to any conclusion, it appears that he crossed the tracts occupied by the Daradas or Dards to Po-lu-lo, Bolor or Balti; he then returned southwards to Uta-khanda, and there crossed the Indus to Ta-cha-shi-lo, the Indian Takshasila, the Taxiles of the Greeks.

Notwithstanding the celebrity of the name, the site of Takshasila is matter of dispute. M. de St. Martin, trusting to the mensuration of Alexander's surveyors, in this place preserved by Pliny, places it at Hasan Abdal, or at least at a spot about six or seven miles east or south-east of it, where extensive ruins still exist, and numerous coins have been found. Hiouen Thsang notices several sthūpas or topes in the vicinity of the city, of which more than one is said to have been erected by Wai-yeu, the Chinese translation of Asoka. One of them marked the site where Kunala, or Keo-lang-na, the

son of that prince, unjustly accused by his stepmother, was blinded. The story which Hiouen Thsang relates of the cause of his having his eyes put out, and of the restoration of his sight, is essentially the same as that found in the Life of Buddha, which has been in part translated from the Sanskrit by the late M. Burnouf.

Seven hundred li (140 miles) to the south-east brings the traveller to the capital of the kingdom of Seng-ho-pu-lo, evidently the Sanskrit *Sinhapura*, although no city of that name makes any figure among the principalities noticed in original authorities. The name occurs in the *Dig-vijaya* of Arjuna, in the *Sabhá Parva* of the *Mahábhárat*, as lying near to *Abhisara* and *Uragá*. The first of these is well known as contiguous to Kashmir, and, in fact, a part of it, politically, if not geographically, and we have, therefore, original authority for placing *Sinhapura* high up in the north-west portion of the Punjab. According to Hiouen Thsang it was near the Indus, on the west, and M. St. Martin thinks it probable that traces of *Sinhapura* are to be found in a place called *Sangohi*, in the map given by Captain Cunningham, in his *Ladakh*, about 130 miles from the Indus, and a short distance from the *Jholum*. Many *sthápas* are mentioned, the remains of which may perhaps still be recognised. At any rate *Sinhapura* may be placed between the Indus and the *Jhelum*, although *Sangohi* seems to lie rather too much to the south. It is worthy of remark that the country, as well as *Takshila*, was subject to Kashmir; and although there are some chronological difficulties in the way, yet there seems good reason to infer, from the statements of the *Raja Tarangini*, that, at the beginning of the seventh century, Kashmir had established a predominant authority of considerable extent over the adjacent countries.

Some curious particulars are here mentioned of a heretical sect, which have very much the appearance of applying to the Jains. The figure they worship is said to resemble that of Buddha, and their doctrines are asserted to be borrowed from the Buddhist scriptures. Their religious teachers are divided, also, into two parties, one going naked, the other wearing white vestments, in whom, therefore, we have the *Digambaras* and *Swetámbaras* of the Jains.

From *Sinhapura* Hiouen Thsang returned to *Takshila*, and then spent some time in visiting the neighbouring countries to the north and east. One of these, *U-la-shi*, is the *Urasa* of the *Raja Tarangini*, and may be the *Uraga* of the *Mahábhárat*; the bearing given by the traveller always to the south-east seems at variance with its position in any part of the Punjab, and we should rather look for it more to the north or in the district of *Gilgit*, especially as still in the direction south-east, about 1000 li, or 200 miles across mountains, he comes

to *Kia-shi-mi-lo*, which is undoubtedly Kashmir. *Hiouen Thsang* remained here two years. Besides the description of the country, sufficiently correct, *Hiouen Thsang* repeats the local legend of the valley having been a lake, only he ascribes its desiccation to an Arhat of marvellous sanctity. He also speaks of the capital as the new city, and notices the existence of the old in a position the correctness of which Captain Cunningham confirms, finding the remains at *Pandra-than*, or *Purana-athana*, the old place, a mile and a half south of the *Takht-i-Sulman*, which is in *Srinagar*. The new city, as mentioned in the *Raja Tarangini*, was built by *Pravarasena*, whom I have placed conjecturally towards the end of the fifth century, Professor *Lasson* about the middle of the third century. According to our authority, *Asoka* reigned in Kashmir, 100 years after the *Nirvana* of *Sákya*, and *Kanishka* four centuries after the same event. For two centuries the country was governed by a king of the *Kilito* (*Kiriya*) race, who abolished the religion of Buddha, but it was restored by the *Raja* of the Himalaya, a *Tushkara*, or Turk, who defeated and put to death the *Kilito* Prince. The latter race, however, recovered the supremacy, and, at the time of *Hiouen Thsang's* travels, he observes that the king has no great faith in Buddhism, and is only interested in the herotics and the temples of the gods.

From Kashmir the route first bends north-west, on which, at 145 li (29 miles) from the capital, it crosses a large river, the *Vitastha* or *Jhelum*; it then turns south-west to *Pu-an-nu-tso*, the modern *Punch* or *Punach*, and thence to *Ho-lo-she-pu-lo*, *Rajapura*, *Rajawar*, or *Rajore*. The distances specified are somewhat in excess, but that may be in part accounted for by the greater length of the route over a mountainous than along a level country. According to Major Cunningham, the actual distance in miles in such countries is about a third more than that measured on the map.

There is some indistinctness and confusion in the account of the next movement. In the biography it is said the traveller came, after two days, to *Chen-ta-lo-po-kia*, the *Chandrabhāga*, or *Chinab*, and thence to the town of *She-ye-pu-lo*, or *Jaypur*, and on the next day he arrived at *She-kie-lo*, the Sanskrit *Sákala*, the *Sangala* of *Arrian*, situated between the *Iravati* or *Ravi* and the *Beyah* or *Vipásá*, the *Pi-po-she* of the Chinese. The distances specified are, however, wholly incompatible with the actual distances, and there are obvious errors in this respect. To the kingdom and its capital the name of *Chekia* is given, and the boundaries of the whole are said to be the *Beyah* to the east, and the *Indus* on the west, so that it would include *Multan*. *Sákala* was the ancient capital; it was mostly in ruins, but

the foundations of the walls were still to be seen, and a small town had grown up in the centre. The actual capital appears to be that of the king Chekia, and, according to tradition, the old name of the Sikh capital was Chek before the tank was dug, which gives it the appellation of Amrit-sar.

The next stage in the Si-yu-ki is the country called Chinapati, about 100 miles east from the frontiers of Chekia. The biographical memoir interposes a city named Na-lo-seng-ho, Narasiuha; its position is not identified. The distance and direction render it possible that Chinapati is to be found in some one of the nearest hill-states, as that of Katoch, or its capital Kangra, according to the conjectures of Captain Cunningham (J.A.S.B., vol. xvii, part 2, page 23.), who states that an inscription found there calls the kingdom Gachché Raj, in which he thinks he can trace the name Gachu, known in Mongol literature as that of a country in which Jalandhara was comprehended.

About 150 li south-east of this is the kingdom of She-lan-to-lo, in which we have no difficulty to recognise Jalandhara; the bearing, however, should be south-west not south-east, if the point of departure be rightly indicated. Thence to the north-east we come to the kingdoms of Ku-lu-tu, Lo-ho-lo, San-po-ho,—names that may be readily recognised in the hill-districts of Kulu, Lahaul, and Chamba. The first is named by Varāhamihira as Kulata. San-po-ho is also called, it is said, Mo-lo-so or Mo-lo-po, in which M. de St. Martin recognizes the Malavas of the Punjab mentioned in the Mahābhārata, by Pānini, and in the Allahabad inscription. He considers them also the same people as the Malli of the western portion of the Punjab or Multan, mentioned by Alexander's historians. But this seems to be without sufficient foundation, and the positions are too far apart to be identical.

Turning hence to the south, Hioen Tshang crosses a large river and enters the principality of She-tu-tu-lo, in which we have clearly the name of the river the Satudru or Satudra,—the Sutlej. The distances and bearings, however, are not capable of precise adjustment with those of the maps; and the route followed by the traveller indicates a direction more to the west than would have been looked for, by which he avoids Thanoswar and ancient Delhi, and comes, at a distance of 800 li (160 miles) to Po-li-yo-to-lo, the Chinese representative of Pāriyātra,—a place of which we have no other notice. M. de St. Martin would identify it with the Byrat of the maps, a town in the principality of Jaypur, about 100 miles west of Mathura—a possible relic of the ancient Sanskrit name of this part of India or Virāta, which figures in the Mahābhārata. The distance corresponds

well enough, as from Po-li-ye-to-lo, Hiouen Tshang comes, at a distance of 500 li (100 miles) east to Mo-thu-lo or Mathurá. The principality contains about twenty convents and a number of sthúpas, seven of which enshrine the remains of as many of the most celebrated disciples of Sákya, or Sáriputra, Mudgalaputra, Púrna Maitráyaniputra, Upali, Ananta, Ráhula, and Manjusri. These were the objects of an annual pilgrimage.

The route of Hiouen Tshang then again assumes a northern direction, and in various respects of detail is more than usually difficult to follow. From Mathura he goes to Sa-ta-ni-shi-fa-lo, Sthaneswara, or Tháneswara, 500 li north-east, when it should be at least double that distance, and is rather to the north-west than north-east. It is somewhat singular, too, that he takes no notice of ancient Dohli on his way; it must have been in existence, and his passing it by in silence can only be accounted for by supposing, either that there is a hiatus in his journal, or that there was nothing in the city of Buddhist interest; yet this were scarcely possible, as the Lát was there, and the edicts of Piyadasi; or it might have been that the ruling authorities were actively hostile towards Buddhism, for the Rajas of Delhi were at this date Rajputs, and the Rajputs of Central India at least seem to have always been supporters of Brahmanism. That by Stháneswara we are to understand Thanesar, or Kurukshetra, there is not only the evidence of the name and bearing, but Hiouen Tshang describes it as the scene of a fierce battle between two kings disputing the supreme authority, which had taken place in very remote ages, as was evident from the size of the human bones which were found in the soil, alluding obviously, though in a most meagre manner, to the war of the Mahábhárata.

The movements of Hiouen Tshang are here again erratic, but it is to be recollected that we are not to look upon his journey as one and continuous; it is a series of excursions in various directions, interrupted by temporary halts of shorter or longer duration, from whence he starts upon a different and occasionally reversed route; thus he now proceeds north-east about eighty miles to the principality of Sa-lo-kin-na, bounded by the Ganges on the east, the mountains on the north, the Yamuna flowed through the centre; the capital is said to be mostly in ruins, but the remains are substantial; the name represents Srugghna or Sugghna, which is enumerated in original Sanskrit lists amongst the countries of the north; the locality is not improbably that of Saharanpur. East of the Yamuna 800 li (160 miles) Hiouen Tshang comes to the banks of the Ganges, the biography says to the sources, which is not very likely. The circumstances he relates of

the sanctity of the river are quite in harmony with native superstitions—bathing in the river effaces all sin ; drowning in it secures heaven ; and the defunct whose bones are cast into it, revive to worldly enjoyment. After crossing the river, the traveller comes to Mo-ti-pu-lo, Matipura, the situation of which is questionable. M. de St. Martin endeavours to determine it by reckoning backwards from the places to which Hiouen Thsang subsequently proceeds, until he reaches a definite point. Thus, from Mo-ti-pu-lo to Kia-pi-shoang-na, 400 li south-east ; O-hi-chi-to-lo, 41 li south-east ; Pi-lo-shan-na, 265 li south-west ; Kie-pi-tha, or Seng-kia-she, 200 li south-east ; and Kie-jo-kio-she, 200 li also to the south-east, or altogether 1100 li (220 miles) in a generally south-east bearing, the last name readily resolving itself into Kanyakubja, or Kanoj, which gives the point desired. Seng-kia-she is also obviously Sankásya, a city named in the Rámáyana, the existence of the ruins of which to the present day we learn from Major Cunningham, who has described it in the Society's Journal ; it is 54 leagues north-west of Kanoj on the left bank of the Kalinadi, which agrees well enough with the distance of the Chinese traveller. It is mentioned also by the elder traveller, Fa Hian, as noticed in my summary of his travels (J.R.A.S., vol. v. p. 121). Pi-lo-shan-na, M. de St. Martin thinks, may be the Karsana of the maps, judging from distance and direction ; and O-hi-chi-to-lo, no doubt, represents Ahichchatra ; and north-west from this is Matipura. M. de St. Martin thinks it possible that some indication of it may be afforded by the ruins of a place called by Tieffenthaler Madáwar, three leagues from Sahampur, and an hour's journey from the east bank of the Ganges ; the whole distance, 1100 li, or 220 miles, would bring us to the northern portion of Rohikhand. Again, from Matipur, the traveller goes 300 li, sixty miles north, to Po-lo-hi-mo-pu-lo, or Brahmapur, which has been conjectured, by Major Cunningham, to apply Srinagar, a conjecture in which M. de St. Martin concurs. He would also identify the word Mati with Madhu, or Mathu, and the people called Madhavas, or Mathavas, who founded Mathura, and whose possessions extended east of the Gandaki, into Videha, termed after them Mithila. This locality, however, is very different from that of Srinagar, even if the reading of Mathava for Madhava be correct, which is questionable, depending upon a passage cited by Weber from the Yajush, which says, "the Sadanira is the boundary of Kosala and Videha, occupied by the descendants of Máthava." Megasthenes mentions a people called Mathæ, whose country is watered by the Erineses, which M. de St. Martin thinks may be the river of Benares, Varánasí. We can scarcely, however, elevate the conjoined rivulets,

the Barna and Asi, to the dignity of a feeder of the Ganges. A list of Buddhist patriarchs, published by M. Remusat, mentions, also, that one of them, on his decease, named, as his successor, Gayasata, in the country of Mati, he himself dying at Srāvastī. This does not help us much to the position of Matipur, although it is considered as confirming, with the other circumstances, its identity with a part, at least, of the ancient principality of Kosala, or Oude. That it lay more to the north is, however, further proved by Hiouen T'sang's mention of the city Mo-yen-lo, on the north-west of Mo-ti-pu-lo, near the east bank of the Ganges, not far from which is a temple of the gods, which is called the Gate of the Ganges, the Gangadwara, or, subsequently, Haridwāru, the Haridwār of the Hindus, to which they repair by hundreds and thousands to bathe. The city of Matipur has not left any traces. North of Brahmapur, amongst the mountains, was a principality named Su-fo-la-na-kiu-to-lo, Suvarnagotra, from its yielding gold, *suvarna*. It is also called the female kingdom, being ruled over by a woman. Hiouen T'sang does not visit it, and we have only the popular notion of a Stri-rājya in the mountains, spoken of in the Puranas, and originating, perhaps, in the Polyandrisms of the Bhotiyas. It is bordered on the east by Tu-fan, Tibet; north by Yu-tien, Khoten, and west by Chamba. The first and last are not far from the truth. Khoten is inaccurately placed.

Of the places passed on his way, from Matipura to Kanoj, the only one of note is Sankāsya, where are some remarkable and extensive Buddhist convents, although there are also a number of temples of Siva. One object worthy of notice was a pillar, seventy feet high, erected by Asoka: perhaps a search among the ruins of Sankāsya might discover some vestiges of this column. The next stage, Kie-jo-kio-she is not only identified with Kanyakubja, by similarity of name, but Hiouen T'sang repeats, with very slight modification, the legendary origin of the appellation, as related in the Rāmāyana, the crookedness (kubja) of the princesses (kanyā), in consequence of the imprecation of a Rishi, whom they had refused to marry. Hence the city was called Khiu-na-cheris, *c'est à dire la ville des filles bossues*. Some interesting circumstances, of a political character, are related of this city, in which Buddhism was flourishing, but we may reserve these for an examination of the historical portion of the Si-yu-ki.

Resuming his journey from Kanoj, Hiouen T'sang comes, at a distance of about 100 li (20 miles) south-west, to the town of Na-po-ti-po-ku-lo, which represents in Sanskrit Navadevakula, on the east bank of the Ganges: There is a town in such a position, but it now

bears the Mohammadan name of Nobut-ganj. Whether traces of any of the monasteries or topes, noticed by the traveller, are still to be found there remains to be determined. One of the sthūpas was said to enshrine the hair and nails of Buddha. Six hundred li (120 miles) from hence to the south, Hiouen Thsang enters the kingdom of Ayuto, Ayodhya, or Oudh; the actual distance is about 150 miles, which is a sufficiently close approximation. Thence he proceeds to O-ye-mukhie, a country on the north bank of the river, which he terms by the generic name King-kin, or Gauga, but which must here mean the Saryu. The name represents Haya-mukha, horse-faced, but there is no place so denominated in any Sanskrit list. The place he next comes to is of more ready identification: Po-lo-ke-ya, or Prayāga, situated, as he accurately states, at the confluence of two rivers.

From hence he passes through an extensive forest, 100 miles south-west, when he comes to Kiau-shang-mi, in which we at once recognise Kausāmbi, a well-known name in Hindu tradition and fable, but of which the exact site has not been determined. Lassen, following Cunningham, is disposed to place it at Kusia, near Kara, on the south bank of the Ganges. M. de St. Martin thinks that the bearing of the journal is wrong, and that it should be north-west, not south-west, but objects to the distance, as Kara is not above thirty miles from Allahabad. I long ago suggested the same locality, in the *Oriental Quarterly* for March 1824, in a note on Kausāmbi, which is repeatedly mentioned in the *Brihat Kathā*, some of the early chapters of which I there translated. After a short time I had another occasion to consider its position, and then located it in the neighbourhood of Chunar, which would harmonise with the direction given it by Hiouen Thsang, and would not be very far out as to distance, Chunar being about eighty miles west by south from Allahabad. Whether any vestiges of Kausāmbi are to be found in that neighbourhood is a subject for investigation: that the Kausāmbi of the Chinese traveller and of the *Brihat Kathā* are the same is proved, by the former mentioning its prince, U-to-yen-na, the Sanskrit Udayana, whose adventures with the princess of Ujain form a prominent part in the *Brihat Kathā*, and who was an ancient hero of fable, so as to be alluded to by Kālidāsa, in the *Cloud Messenger*:

“Prāpyāvantim, Udayānakathā kovida grāma vriddhām.”

Hiouen Thsang, of course, makes him one of the faithful, and says that he set up a statue of Buddha, still to be seen, although the monasteries were in ruins and almost deserted.

From Kausāmbi, Hiouen Thsang seems to have taken a somewhat

unintelligibly circuitous route : he returns to the north, passes 700 li (140) miles through a forest, crosses the Ganges, and comes to Kia-she-pu-lo, and thence, 180 li, to Pi-so-kia. The first, representing the name Káshapura, is not identifiable. M. de St. Martin thinks the second, expressing the Sanskrit Vaisákha, may be the Pali Bhesakala mentioned in the Mahavansu ; but this is very doubtful.

From hence, at 500 li to the north, Hiouen Tshang comes to Shi-lo-fa-si-ti, the Sanskrit Srávasti. Fa Hian makes it about 300 li south of Káshapura. There is evidently something wrong in the itinerary, not so much of distances as of bearings, which is not very wonderful, especially as it is not the traveller himself who specifies them. Both travellers agree in placing Srávasti north-west of Kapila-vastu 500 li, which would bring it to the upper course of the Rapti close to the mountains. The late Sir H. Elliot found a village about eight miles west of Faizabad bearing almost the same name, but the position is scarcely reconcileable with either itinerary. The capital of Srávasti was in ruins even at this early date, and the neighbourhood abounded with sthúpas and monasteries now deserted.

From Srávasti the route proceeds to Kie-pi-lo-fa-su-tu, or Kapilavastu, the birth-place of Sákya-sinha, and which the best authorities are agreed to place north of Gorakhpur, near the foot of the mountains on the Rohini river, which joins the Rapti river from Nepal. The objection that has been taken to this site is, that Dr. Buchanan, exploring the valley of the Rohini above Gorakhpur, came upon no traces of any ancient city. This objection is of no great weight, for the country was possibly not very carefully examined ; and if it had been, as Kapilavastu was abandoned and in ruins even at the time of Fa-Hian's travels, or in the fourth century, climate, time, and the wilderness operating uncontrolled for perhaps 2,000 years, are not likely to have left any distinguishable remains. From the forest occupying the site of Kapilavastu, Hiouen Tshang followed the same route to Kusinagara, Kieu-shi-na-kie-lo, by way of Lan-mo or Rama Grama, which is said to have been the scene of Sákya's changing his garments after leaving his palace, and which must have been close to Kapilavastu. The site of Kusinagara I showed, in my memoir of Fa-Hian's journey, to be, in all probability, Kusia, in the eastern division of Gorakhpur, where indications of an extensive Buddhist city had been discovered. They were described by Mr. Liston in the Bengal Journal, which agrees, according to M. de St. Martin, with the bearings and distances of Hiouen Tshang's route. It was near Kusinagara that the Tathágata entered into Nirván in the eightieth year of his age,

From Kusinagara Hiouen Thsang turned back, and, at the distance of 200 li, came to a large town, of which he does not give the name; and from thence, after passing through a thick forest for 500 li, or 100 miles, he came to Po-lo-ni-se or Benares, which is actually about 150 miles from the situation assigned to Kusinagara. The capital or the city of Benares, is rightly described as extending along the Ganges for about nineteen li or nearly four miles—about the actual extent at the present day. It is five or six li in breadth, which again is about its actual average. The population of the city and suburbs was numerous, amongst whom few followed the law of Buddha. There were, however, some thirty monasteries with above 3,000 ascetics. The predominant worship was that of Siva or Maheswara, who has always been the especial divinity of Benares. A great number of monuments, viháras, and sthúpas were visited in the neighbourhood of Benares by Hiouen Thsang, one of which is supposed to be identifiable with Sár-nátha—rendered, by M. Julien, *Mriga-dava, le bois des cerfs*, or, more agreeably to the Chinese, *Lu-ye, le parc des cerfs*.

The next city is 300 li on the east of Benares, also on the Ganges. There is no attempt at representing phonetically its Sanskrit name. The Chinese, Chan-cheo-kue expresses "town of the lord of war," Yuddhapati pura, perhaps for Kártikeya-pur, although we have no such place in any ancient list or modern map: the distance, sixty miles, would bring us to Ghazi-pur; and it is curious, although it may be accidental, that this Mohammadan name, the city of the Gházi, warrior against infidels, bears some affinity to the Yuddhapati of the Hindus.

Crossing the Ganges, Hiouen Thsang arrived at a town called Mo-ho-so-lo, Mahasára, inhabited entirely by Brahmans, a place that may be identified with a village near Arrah named Masár, not only by its position and bearing, but by the extensive remains in its vicinity found there by Dr. Buchanan. From hence, again crossing the Ganges to the north-east, the traveller came to the city celebrated in both Brahmanical and Buddhist legend, Fei-she-li or Vaisáli. Hiouen Thsang makes it 180 li or about 26 miles from the Ganges, on the banks of the Gandak; and this brings us to a spot where extensive ruins attest the former existence of an ancient city, and where one of the Priyadarsi columns, with an inscription, was discovered, or Bakhra, near which a village still called Basar, may suggest some resemblance to the ancient appellation. Although there were numerous relics of Buddhism in the adjacent country, there were not above three or four monasteries in the capital, and those thinly occupied; the rest were all in ruins, whilst there were some dozens of Hindu

temples. Fa-Hian speaks of Vaisáli as being in a ruinous condition—*la capitale n'offre partout que des ruines*.

Before crossing the Ganges, Hiouen Thsang makes a diversion to the north, and visits the countries of the Fo-li-shi and of Ni-po-lo. The former represents the Sanskrit Vriji, a name, however, unknown to Brahmanical literature, although it occurs as Vaddhis in that of the Buddhists, as is mentioned both by Turnour and Burnouf, a powerful tribe, situated between the Ganges and the mountains, on the east of the Gandak river. At this time they must have been compelled to fall back from the Ganges, and the bearing and distance would place them about Janakapur, in Chinese Che-shu-na-pu-lo, the ancient capital of Mithilá, under Janaka, the father of Sita. In Ni-po-lo we have obviously Nepal, and the identity is confirmed by the traveller's description of it, as situated among the snowy mountains.

Returning to Vaisáli, Hiouen Thsang there crossed the Ganges and proceeded to the kingdom of Mo-kie-to, Magadhá, or South Bahar, the scene of Buddha's first teaching. On the south bank of the river was an ancient city, which we are rather surprised to learn had long been deserted. This, it is said, was called, in very remote times, Keu-su-mo-pu-lo, the Kusuma-pura of Sanskrit traditional history, and afterwards Po-to-li-tseu-ching, or Pátaliputra-pura. The story he tells, to account for the meaning of the name, the city of the son of the Pátali flower, bears some affinity to the legend narrated in the Brihat Kathá; and he also mentions that it was the capital of Asoka, who transferred to it his royal residence from Rajagriha. It is difficult to understand how Pataliputra should have fallen so soon into such decay as Hiouen Thsang ascribes to it, so shortly after Fa Hian's visit, or only 231 years before, as he describes it as flourishing, *en pleine prospérité*. At present, he says (the later pilgrim) there remain only the old foundations; the monasteries, temples of the gods, and sthúpas of which the ruins are visible may be counted by hundreds: there are not above two or three still standing, only on the north of the ancient palace and close to the Ganges, there is a small town, which contains about 1000 houses.

After visiting the remains of a number of Buddhist monuments in this part of the country Hiouen Thsang proceeded to Kia-yo, or Gaya, at a distance of 485 li, or 97 miles from the Ganges, the actual distance being between sixty and seventy, but Hiouen Thsang's route involves, apparently, sundry deviations from the direct road, which may account for the difference. The description given by both the Chinese pilgrims of the objects in the vicinity of the place, as well as

the name, leave no doubt of the identity of their Kia-ye with the Buddha Gaya of the present day, although, at the time of Hiouen Tshang's visit, it was chiefly occupied by Brahman families, who were treated with great veneration by both prince and people.

During his stay at Gaya, Hiouen Tshang visited an infinite number of viháras and sthúpas, statues of Buddha, and the Bodhi-druma, the tree of intelligence, in an enclosure of four walls. After satisfying his devotions and relating a number of marvels he resumed his travels, passing through a forest, east of the Mo-ho or Mahi river, 100 li to the mountain Kiu-kiu-to-po-tho-shan, Kukkuta-páda, also called Keu-lau-po-to-shan, or Gurupáda. This is rather a mountain range, with lofty summits, and numerous valleys and grottoes. Another 100 li bring him to the mountain Fo-to-va-na, or Buddhavana, where were extensive excavations. Other mountains and caves are passed, until he arrives at the town Kuságára-pura, or Ku-she-ki-lo-pu-lo, or the city of the sacred grass, the Kusa, in the centre of the kingdom of Magadhá and the ancient capital, enclosed on the four cardinal points by lofty mountains. There is at present no indication of such a name as Kuságara, but it seems to have been the same as Rajagriha, the residence of the kings of Magadhá, at the time of Buddha's appearance; known in Sanskrit literature as Girivraja, meaning the assemblage of mountains, indicating the site of the city in the midst of mountains, five, according to the Mahábhárata, and to a more modern description, that of Père Tieffenthator, in 1765. A Jain in the service of Colonel Mackenzie, who travelled through Behar, and whose journey I translated, and published in the Calcutta Annual Register of 1821, found the remains of Rájagriha spread over a space of four miles by two, having four hills at the cardinal points. Major Kittoe visited it still later, and published a plan of the topography in the 16th vol. of the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Part 2, p. 954. At about six or seven miles north of Rajagriha Hiouen Tshang came to the monastery of Nalanda, the Nalo of Fa-Hian, one of the most considerable in India, and resided there five years. Very extensive remains have been found in this situation, described by Dr. Buchanan and Major Kittoe, which are probably those of the monastery in question: they are situated in the neighbourhood of a village named Baragaon, the large village, possibly a corruption of Viháragráma, the village of the monastery.

Setting out again on his travels Hiouen Tshang comes, at about two miles, to a town called Kiu-li-kia, and thence, at four miles distance, west, to Kia-lo-pi-na-kia, severally, in Sanskrit, Kulika and Kalapinaka. He then retraces his steps towards the Ganges, generally

in a north-east direction, till he comes to a village called *Lo-in-ni-lo*, *Rohinila*, a place which may be identified with the *Royanala* of *Rennell*, at the eastern extremity of *Bahar*.

Following the course of the river to the east *Hiouen Thsang* comes to the capital of *I-lau-na-shan*, at a distance of forty miles on the *Ganges*. The Chinese appellation is equivalent in meaning to *Hiranya-parvata*, or the golden mountain, as in the neighbourhood of the city was a mountain emitting smoke; and although this is no longer the case, yet the presence of thermal springs, as at the *Sita-kund*, together with the agreement of bearing and distance, identify *Hiranya-parvata* with *Monghir*. From thence, following the southern bank of the *Ganges*, the route comes to *Chen-po*, the Sanskrit *Champa*, the ancient name of the capital of *Anga*, in the vicinity of the modern *Bhagalpur*. At 150 li from *Champa* was an insular rock, which is exaggerated into a mountain, but *Hiouen Thsang* derives his account from information, not having visited the spot, which is no doubt the rock of *Kolgong*.

The journey of *Hiouen Thsang* steadily pursues a southern direction; at 80 miles he comes to a kingdom written *Kie-chu-u-ki-lo*, or *Kio-ching-kie-lo*, equivalent to *Kajingara*, conjectured by *M. de St. Martin* to be identical with a place on the south bank of the *Ganges* called in *Rennell's* map *Kajeri*, about 85 or 90 miles from *Champa*. The next country he comes to is called *Pun-na-fa-ta-ná*, *Pundravardhana*. *Pundra* is the Sanskrit name of western Bengal, and in the latter member of the compound we may have *Vardhamána*, the classical designation of *Burdwan*. His next journeys are not easy to follow, and can only be understood by supposing that they are discursive, not continuous, carrying him to *Kia-mo-leu-po*, or *Kamarúpa*, which is well known as *Western Asam*. Hence he returns south 1300 li (260 miles) to *San-mo-ta-cha*, near the sea, and which must have been therefore near the delta of the *Brahmaputra*. *Samata*, or *Samátata*, is named in the *Allahabad* pillar, and in a list of countries in the *Varáha Sanhitá*; but nothing further is known of it, and it may or may not be identical with the Chinese name. Hence he goes to *Ta-mo-li-ti*, the Sanskrit *Támralipta*, well known both to *Brahmaical* and *Buddhist* geography, a seaport and commercial emporium as late as the thirteenth century, and still a station of some importance as *Tamlúk*.

Here again we have an interruption in the direct route, and *Hiouen Thsang* visits a country 700 li (140 miles) north-west from *Támralipti*, called *Kie-lo-na-su-fa-la-nu*, equivalent to *Karna-suvarna*; the bearing and distance would bring us to the *Suvarna-rekhá*, the

Subanrika river of the maps, watering the country of Sinh-bhûm ; he then comes back a little distance to the south-east, and is now in the kingdom of U-cha, Udra, Odra, or Orissa ; he does not name the capital, but we know from Stirling's History of Orissa, that princes of the Kesari dynasty were ruling in the seventh century at Jajpur, which still exists.

Travelling 1200 li (240 miles) through thick forests, Hiouen Thsang arrives at a kingdom called Kong-yu-tho, the identification of which is not very obvious ; 1400 or 1500 li (300 miles) further south we more readily recognise in Ki-ling-kia, Kalinga, the name given by Sanskrit and classical writers, and by the people of the Eastern Archipelago, to the upper part of the Coromandel coast, usually including Orissa ; the whole distance would bring us near to the mouths of the Godavery.

Going now north-west 1900 li (nearly 400 miles), Hiouen Thsang comes to the kingdom of Kiao-sa-lo, Kosala, surrounded by mountains and forests. Kosala must here be applied to a part of Berar, and is known in Hindu geography as Dakshina-Kosala, South Kosala, the northern being the same as Oudh. Travelling south about 900 li (nearly 200 miles), Hiouen Thsang comes to Ping-ki-lo, or Warangal, the capital of An-ta-lo, or Andhra, the ancient, and indeed the actual name of the kingdom of Telingana. The people, he says, are fierce and barbarous ; their language is different from that of Central India, but the form of the letters is much the same. There are about twenty monasteries and thirty temples.

A thousand li south travelling through forests, which, it may be noticed, are everywhere abundant in this part of the Dakhin, the traveller comes to To-na-kie-tse-kin, equivalent to Dhanaka-cheka, a name which is not now recognisable ; but Hiouen Thsang says the country is also called Great Andhra, which would be in Sanskrit Mahāndhra, and which M. de St. Martin would identify therefore with Rajamahendri : he is obliged however, to admit that this is south-east, not south of Warangal, and we have already brought the traveller to this position on his way from Orissa. There is also a description of excavations, to which nothing in the neighbourhood of Rajamahendri corresponds. West of the city, says Hiouen Thsang, is a monastery called O-fa-lo-shi-lo Senghialan (or the convent of Avanasila) : the first king of this country constructed it, it is said, in honour of Buddha. He hollowed out the valley, made a road through it, opened the sides of the mountains, and erected pavilions : long galleries and great lateral chambers rested on the grottoes, and communicated with the excavations : for a thousand years after Buddha's Nirvāna, these caves were frequented by sages and saints ; after that time the

inhabitants were mixed up with low people, and the monastery had been abandoned for a century. This account would rather relate to some of the earliest Buddhist excavations, such as those of Ellora, and the bearing and distance would not be very different from those specified.

At a distance of 1000 li (200 miles) lay the kingdom of Chau-li-yo, the Chaula of the Bhāgavat, Chola of Menu; it appears higher up in the Dakhin than it should be placed according to local tradition, but the term was used with some latitude, as I have had former occasion to observe. Buddhism was here nearly extinct, and the naked followers of Siva were in great numbers.

The next kingdom is that of Ta-lo-pi-cha, or Drāvira, at a distance of 1500 or 1600 li (320 miles). Properly speaking, we should have come to Drāvira before or on the north of Chola, but the two are to a certain degree the same, and the former is apparently more inland, whilst Chola is the coast; for the capital of Drāvira is called Kien-chi-pu-lo—almost a literal transcript of the ancient Sanskrit name Kanchipura, modernised as Conjeveram. Although Brahmanism boasted of eighty temples and numerous naked mendicants, Buddhism was more flourishing here than in most cities, as Hiouen Thsang says the city contains 100 monasteries and 10,000 ascetics.

M. de St. Martin limits Hiouen Thsang's southern travels to Kānchi, and conceives the next country he notices, Mo-lo-kiu-cha, Malakūta, to have been known to him only by report. The text, however, says,—"En partant de ce pays il fit environ trois mille li au sud, et arriva au royaume de Mo-lo-kiu-cha." At the same time further on it is said that on leaving the kingdom of Drāvira, he travelled north, and passing through forests and unoccupied plains as well as several small towns, he came to the Konkan. At any rate the distance of the route Mo-la-kiu-cha is much exaggerated; for, instead of 600 miles, half that quantity from Kānchi reaches the extreme point of the peninsula. There is also some confusion as to the characteristics of the locality, or it comprises a wider extent than the identity of the name with Ma-la-ya would usually denote. It is bounded on the south by the sea. This applies to the whole extremity of the peninsula. Thence rise the mountains on which grows the sandal-tree Chen-ta-ni-po, Chaudana, which carries us over the Western Ghats into Travancore. According to Hiouen Thsang, the camphor-tree also grows in these mountains,—Kie-pu-lo, Karpura. Leaving Malakuta in the direction of the north-east a town on the sea-coast is reached named Che-li-to, Charitrapura "a town of departure," as from hence vessels sail to Seng-kia-lo, Sinhala or Ceylon.

Hiouen Tshang did not visit Ceylon, and the particulars he relates of it are merely legendary. He mentions, however, in accordance with tradition, the introduction of Buddhism by Mo-hi-in-to-lo, Mahendra, the younger brother of Asoka, and he speaks of the vihāra of the tooth of Buddha, adjoining to the palace of the king.

After this it is said that Hiouen Tshang proceeds from Drāvira to Kong-kien-na-pu-lo, Konkannapura, or the Concan. His account of the kingdom is brief; the only notice of interest is, that the people throughout India use the leaf of the palm for writing upon. The distance is 2000 li (400 miles), which will bring us into the Bijapur district. M. de St. Martin thinks it possible that the capital, which is not separately named, may have been the ancient city Bānavāsī, on the Tungabhadra. From hence Hiouen Tshang proceeds 2500 li (500 miles) to the country and city of Mo-ho-ja-cha, in which name we have no doubt Mahārāshtra. This distance would bring him into Kandesh, which would not be inconsistent with his next journey westward 1000 li, or 200 miles, following the course of the Nai-mo-tho or Narmada river to Pu-lo-kie-che-po, Varikachapura,—the Barygaza of Ptolemy, or Baroch. We have no other clue to the site of the capital of Maharashtra than the description of an extensive and elaborately excavated vihāra on the eastern frontier, where all around upon the rock are sculptured various events in the life of Buddha in the most exact detail, and where a stone elephant stands at each of the gates of the Vihar, facing the cardinal points of the horizon. We have no knowledge of any excavations in this direction. The sculptures of events in Buddha's life would apply very well to those of Amravati, which could not be very much out of the way, but we have no mountain nor caves.

In this part of Hiouen Tshang's travels, as observed by M. de St. Martin, there is much less precision both as to bearings and distances than has so far prevailed, and the probability of identification is proportionally diminished. The accounts are shorter and more meagre, and there are various irreconcilable differences between the account in the life and in the narrative of the Si-yu-ki.

The first kingdom to which Hiouen Tshang travels from Baroch is Mo-la-po or Málava. Ho makes the distance 2,000 li, which is at least twice too much, and places it on the south-east of the Mo-ho (Mahi) river, which would take us to Dhār—the capital of Malava, as we know at a not much later period. It is one of the two places where the study of Buddhist books is most assiduously pursued, the other being Magadha; and Dhar had, at a somewhat later date under Bhoja, a high literary reputation. Buddhism had several hundred

monasteries here, but the heretics had an equal number of temples, and were very numerous.

Two thousand four or five hundred li (500 miles) south-west we come to the kingdom of O-cha-li, at the confluence of two seas: the bearing would bring us to the extremity of the peninsula of Kattiwar, and the distance from Ujayin or Dhar would not be much in excess. By the confluence of the two seas we may also understand the mouth of the Gulf of Cutch. We have no help, however, in the name; but the next move, 300 li (60 miles) to the north-west, brings us to the province of Kie-cha; and here, name, bearing, and distance place us confidently in Cutch, the Sanskrit Kachcha, or maritime region.

Hiouen Thsang now proceeded, it is said, 1000 li (200 miles) north, to Fa-la-pi, in which we recognise Vallabhi. The distance is not far out, but the bearing is most indubitably altogether wrong: from no part of Cutch could the city of Vallabhi lie north, being in the Gujerat peninsula, while, if the kingdom said to be 6000 li, or 1200 miles in circuit be carried into Rajputana and Malwa, we have more of an easterly than westerly direction. The bearing of the capital, however, was south-east. M. de St. Martin says that the kingdom of Vallabhi was also called Pe-lo-lo, or Lolo of the north, and Lo-lo he identifies with the Sanskrit Lāta, applied to this part of India, the Lār of the Hindus and Larike of the Greeks. The application of the term is correct, in part, but neither in the Si-yu-ki nor in the memoir do I find any such name as Lo-lo given by Hiouen Thsang. It appears to be derived from some other version of his travels, cited by M. Jacquet (*Jour. Asiatic Society of Bengal*, v. 685).

From Vallabhi an excursion apparently takes place to a state dependent on Malwa, called O-non-to-pu-lo, Anandapura, 700 li north-west; but he again sets out from Vallabhi, and, proceeding 500 li west, comes to the kingdom of Su-la-cha, or Surāshtra. The distance is sufficiently exact, but the bearing again is entirely wrong, and it should be east, not west. The country is dependent on Vallabhi; it contains 50 monasteries and 100 temples. The city is a great emporium of trade. Near the capital is the mountain called Yeou-chen-ta Ujayanta, in which there are excavations. Although the name is identifiable there is considerable perplexity as to the position. It is not, according to M. de St. Martin, either the Surastrene of the Greeks nor the Surath of modern times, but part of Gujerat or Kattiwar, the capital being Junagarh, in the vicinity of the mountain Ujayanta. It is difficult to reconcile this with the relative position of Vallabhi and

with the statement of Hiouen Thsang, that the capital touches the Mahi river on the west, which places it on the east of the Gulf of Cambay or the Mahi-kanta, a position quite incompatible with that of Junagarh.

From Su-la-cha it would seem that Hiouen Thsang returned to Vallabhi, for he again starts from that city and travels about 1300 li (260 miles) north, to the kingdom of Kiu-che-lo, Gurjara, the capital of which he calls Pi-lo-mo-lo. Supposing the bearing and distance correctly given, or nearly so, we come far into Rajputana, near to Jesalmor. We have no authority for applying Gurjara to any country in this direction, but the name is not uncommon, and we have a Gurjara still more to the north. Pi-lo-mo-lo has been identified, by M. Reinaud, with the Pahlmahl of Albiruni, an important city, between Multan and Anhilwara, the Balmair or Bharmair of Marwar, according to M. de St. Martin, about thirty leagues south-west of Jesalmor, a not improbable identification.

A sudden return to the south-east brings Hiouen Thsang, after a journey of 2800 li (560 miles) to U-che-yen-na, which is clearly Ujjayini or Ugein, the king of which was a Brahman, and consequently Buddhism was at a low ebb. He then goes to Chi-ki-to, north-east 1000 li, considered to be the modern Khajuri, twenty-five leagues south-west of Gwalior: thence, in the same direction 900 li, to Mo-hi-chi-fa-lo-pu-lo, which M. de St. Martin identifies with Macheri, perhaps Matsyavara, in support of which conjecture it is to be remembered that this part of India is known, in Sanskrit geography, as the Matsyadesa. Little is said of these two principalities, as they were both ruled by Brahman princes, and did not follow the faith of Buddha.

Departing from hence Hiouen Thsang returned to Gurjara, whence he again set off towards the north, and, after passing, for 1900 li, through wild plains and dangerous deserts, he crossed the river Sin-tu, the Sindhu or Indus, and entered the kingdom so called. The capital is named Pi-shen-po-pulo, which M. de St. Martin thinks may be identical with Alore, notwithstanding the dissimilarity of the appellations. According to Captain Burton, Middle Sindh is called Vicholo, which offers some resemblance to the Chinese. Sindh, according to Hiouen Thsang, was an eminently Buddhist country, having several hundred monasteries, with ten thousand monks. He does not give the bulk of them, however, a very good character, for he says "*en général ils sont indolents et adonnés à la débauche.*" The predominance of Buddhism in Sindh, in the beginning of the eighth century, is noticed by the Mohammadans.

From Sindh Hiouen Thsang makes an excursion to a country he

calls Po-fō-to, Sanskrit Parvata. It is said to be subject to Chekia, which we have seen is in the vicinity of Lahore, so that Po-fō-to will be in the Punjab. This position is confirmed by the intervention of the kingdom of Mou-lo-san-pu-lo, Mūlasthāna-pura, or Multan. Besides the coincidence of the name the city is particularised as the site of a magnificent temple of the sun, having an image of the sun in gold. This entirely agrees with the notice I have translated from the Bhavishyat Purana, and all Hindu tradition, which records the foundation of the temple and the consecration of a golden image of Aditya, by Sāmba, the son of Krishna, in gratitude for his being cured by him of the leprosy.

Although it is not so stated, Hiouen Thsang must have returned from the Punjab to Sindh, as he departs from thence, and going 1500 or 1600 li south-west, comes to A-tien-po-chi-lo, which is equivalent, in M. Julien's system, to Adhyavakila, the capital of which is Khio-tsi-shi-fa-lo, Khajiswara. It is situated near the sea, and the direction and distance would bring it well enough to Karachi. How that name should properly be written or what it means we have not learned, and the verification of the names must be left in doubt. The same applies to the adjacent kingdom, Lang-kie-lo and its capital, Su-nen-li-shi-fa-lo, Sunuriswara. The country, it is said, is subject to Po-lo-ssō or Persia. Lang-kie, M. de St. Martin thinks, may be traced in the tribe of the Langas or Langhātū, still in the north-east of Baluchistan. The Langas are also named in the Mahābhārata, but, as M. de St. Martin observes, we know nothing of the past and not much of the present condition of the countries west of the Indus, and should scarcely be able to follow the traveller, even if his steps were more precisely marked, but this part of his journey is very meagre and confused, and the accounts given of it in the biography and the Si-yu-ki irreconcilably at variance.

Hiouen Thsang's account of the next kingdom, Po-se, Po-lo-se, or Persia, is not from personal observation; the expression is not *il arrive*, but *on arrive*; he calls the capital Su-la-sang-ten-na, Surasthāna. He is correct in giving a good extent—several tens of thousands of li—to its confines, and representing it as a wealthy and prosperous country: he speaks also of their irrigation by canals, the kariz of Persian agriculture, and, curiously enough, mentions that they use large pieces of silver money, a not incorrect description of the broad silver coins of the Sassanides. He calls their chief deity Ti-na-po, which might be intended for Dina-pā, the guardian of the day, the Sun.

We cannot identify his steps as he advances from Sindh to the north—first, 700 li (140 miles) to Pi-to-shi-lo; 300 li north-east to

O-fan-cha; 400 li further north-east to Fa-la-na, which is said to be subject to Kia-pi-she, so that we are now again near to Kabul; 2000 li (400 miles) farther, after crossing a mountain and a deep valley, he quits the frontiers of India and enters the kingdom of Tsao-kiu-cha, which M. de St. Martin thinks may offer traces of Rokhaj, the ancient Arakosia. We can scarcely doubt that the capital, Ho-si-mo, is intended for Ghazni, although it is doubtful what can be made of the second capital, which Hiouen Tshang calls Ho-su-lo. The name offers an obvious affinity to Hazara, and possibly the people so called may have been settled in this part of the country at the time of Hiouen Tshang's journey.

That the difficulty of verifying the traveller's course depends very much upon our imperfect acquaintance with the countries, is rendered probable by the comparative facility of verification when we know where we are; the bearings and distances which bring Hiouen Tshang to Hu-pi-an, the capital of Fo-li-shi-lang-na, conduct him to the city that still bears the same name, or Hupian, to the north of Kabul, at the foot of the Hindu Kosh, first made known to us by Mr. Masson, and which has borne a similar appellation for 2000 years, being the Alexandria Opiana of Stephanus of Byzantium, and one of Alexander's military colonies. The country, M. St. Martin thinks, may be recognised in Varda-sthana, the place or region of the Vardaks, one of the principal Afghan tribes, a name that may be also recognised in the classical Ortospa-na, or more correctly Orto, or Varta-sthana.

Hiouen Tshang now takes leave of India and threads his way back to China through Turkestan and Mongolia, by a route similar to that travelled by Marco Polo some six centuries later. We have not the same interest in keeping him company, but it is very curious to observe how successfully his route may be traced. The first place of note he comes to is An-to-lo-po-lo, or Anderab; thence he comes to Ku-o-si-to, the Khost of Baber; Hai-o, the next place, is not verifiable; but Mung-kien is probably Mungan; in Ki-li-se-mo we may have the Scassem of Marco Polo, the Ishkasham of Elphinstone's map.

Proceeding up the valley of the Oxus, Hiouen Tshang comes to Pe-li-hor, or Bolor, 300 li (60 miles), about the actual distance of Bolor from Ishkasham; we then come successively to Hi-mo-ta-la, which wants an equivalent; to Po-lo-choang-na, or Badakhshan, to In-po-kien, south-east, more correctly north-east, 200 li to Vakhan; the next place is Khiu-lang-na, which may be Garanu, where the Lapis Lazuli mines are situated; then Ta-mo-sie-tie-ti, or Chin-kan, the capital of which is Hoen-to-to, or Kandahar, on the left bank of the Oxus.

After a painful journey 700 li north-east, Hiouen Tshang passes

across snow-clad mountains to the valley of Po-miu-lo of great extent, the centre of which is occupied by a spacious lake, the table-land of Pamir, and the Sir-i-kol; thence over similar country the traveller comes to the kingdom Khio-pan-to, of which the direction and distance correspond with the site of a city called, by the Kirghis, Kar-chu; from thence he proceeds to Kie-sha, or Kashgar; the next stage U-sha corresponds as to direction, distance, and its position at the descent from the mountain region, with the present city of Ingashar; 500 li from hence south-east he comes to Cho-kiu-kia, agreeing in position as well as appellation with Yar-kiang, or Yarkand; a still closer affinity identifies his next advance, as Kiu-sa-tau-na, the Sanskrit Ku-stana, is no doubt intended for Khoten.

Khoten was, from a remote period, a celebrated seat of Buddhism, and Hiouen Thsang has many sacred shrines to visit and marvellous legends to relate. One of these, the destruction of the weapons of an invading host, by a colony of rats, whom the king of Khoten had propitiated, is similar, as remarked by M. de St. Martin, to the story told by Herodotus, in his second book. Another story narrates the surreptitious introduction of mulberry plants and silk worms into Khoten, by a Chinese princess married to the king, and the consequent celebrity of Khoten for its silk manufactures.

From Khoten, Hiouen Thsang pursues his homeward route, across territories which he merely names, as Tu-ho-lo or Tukhara, Ni-mo and Na-po-po, or Leü-lan; the latter, according to Chinese authority, corresponding with the direction of Makai, on the south-west of the province of Sha-chou. He was received, on his return, with especial honours, by order of the emperor, to whom he was presented at Lo-yang, and by whom he was ever afterwards treated with marked veneration, having accomplished a wonderful journey of at least 15,000 miles out and home, besides the digressions which he so frequently interposed.

Hiouen Thsang rarely indulges us with any personal adventures; he never complains of any ill-treatment or obstruction. The only impediments he encounters are those of country and climate, mountains, deserts, forests, cold and heat; and it is remarkable how little inconvenience he seems to have experienced. He speaks of robbers, but does not seem to have fallen in with them; and it is worthy of notice that they appear most frequently in India, not in Mongolia or Turkestan. In no part of his route does he seem to have suffered from any deficiency of supplies. Apparently he travelled alone or with a few occasional companions; he never speaks of caravans. Much of his personal immunity from danger and facility of movement was no

doubt attributable, at least in his outward journey, to his appearance as a religious mendicant, with nothing but his staff, wallet, and water-pot to be deprived of, and he obtained provisions and frequent resting-places at the Buddhist monasteries on his route, which, although sometimes few and in decay, were never totally wanting wherever he went. On his return, however, he could not have travelled in so unnoticeable a condition, for he brought back with him five hundred packages of books, besides images of Buddha and various sacred relics constituting the burthen, it is said, of twenty-two horses,—a sufficiently imposing cavalcade. By what means and at whose expence he effected this conveyance is not mentioned; but it affords a remarkable proof of the civilized condition and orderly government of the countries which he traversed, that he should have passed over so long and arduous a route thus heavily incumbered without incurring, as far as appears from his narration, any sort of impediment or ill-usage.

It is much to be regretted that our enterprising pilgrim should have devoted his inquiries so almost exclusively to the objects of his superstitious veneration, and have entered so little into details we should have infinitely preferred, respecting the social and political condition of India. His notices of this nature are rare, scattered, and meagre, but there are a few which are not without interest, and there is a general description which is in the main correct. I purpose a further investigation of this part of his travels when I have leisure, and shall submit the result to the Society at some future opportunity.
